

WILEY



A • M • E • R • I • C • A • N
A N T H R O P O L O G I C A L
A S S O C I A T I O N

How Spaniards Became Chumash and Other Tales of Ethnogenesis

Author(s): Brian D. Haley and Larry R. Wilcoxon

Source: *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 107, No. 3 (Sep., 2005), pp. 432-445

Published by: [Wiley](#) on behalf of the [American Anthropological Association](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3567028>

Accessed: 19-03-2015 16:15 UTC

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at
<http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Wiley and American Anthropological Association are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *American Anthropologist*.

<http://www.jstor.org>



BRIAN D. HALEY
LARRY R. WILCOXON

How Spaniards Became Chumash and other Tales of Ethnogenesis

ABSTRACT In the 1970s, a network of families from Santa Barbara, California, asserted local indigenous identities as “Chumash.” However, we demonstrate that these families have quite different social histories than either they or supportive scholars claim. Rather than dismissing these neo-Chumash as anomalous “fakes,” we place their claims to Chumash identity within their particular family social histories. We show that cultural identities in these family lines have changed a number of times over the past four centuries. These changes exhibit a range that is often not expected and render the emergence of neo-Chumash more comprehensible. The social history as a whole illustrates the ease and frequency with which cultural identities change and the contexts that foster change. In light of these data, scholars should question their ability to essentialize identity. [Keywords: ethnogenesis, indigenization of modernity, social construction of identity, Southwest borderlands, Mexican Americans]

IN THE RECENTLY RECONSTRUCTED north wing of the Royal Presidio of Santa Barbara, California, there is a small museum. The museum houses the following: (1) the usual displays of artifacts, photographs, and gifts; (2) a scale model of the original presidio quadrangle, which was built in 1782 by troops representing the king of Spain; and (3) a large folding display of family genealogies linking the 18th- and 19th-century *soldados* of the fort to *los descendientes*—their living local descendants. The support of *los descendientes* is important to the management of Santa Barbara Presidio State Park. Yet not all descendants are listed in the display, and among these are some who wish they were not *soldado* descendants. The latter group has had some success achieving an identity as local indigenes—specifically, as Chumash Indians. These neo-Chumash who emerged in the 1970s lack Chumash or other Native Californian ancestry and are descended almost exclusively from the people who colonized California for Spain from 1769 to 1820. Their social history is distinct from that of local indigenous communities. Yet local governments repatriate precolonial human remains to them for reburial and scholars defend and promote their claims of Chumash ancestry, try to “restore” Chumash traditions to them through their research, or approach them for lessons in traditional Chumash culture to put into papers and textbooks. Had Jean Baudrillard’s (1988) travels through “America” not missed this little corner of California “simulacra,” neo-Chumash culture might

have become emblematic of postmodernity. Luckily for neo-Chumash (and the position we take here), Baudrillard chose Disneyland to symbolize the pervasive substitution of simulation for reality in the United States.

It is tempting to suggest that neo-Chumash are perpetrating “ethnic fraud” by asserting ancestry they do not have (Gonzales 1998). But should social scientists dismiss neo-Chumash identity as some kind of anomaly? Anthropologists have wrestled with the nature of cultural identities for at least half a century. Initially, cultural identities were considered primordial and fundamental to personhood, only changing through the modernization of “traditional cultures” and nation building. Others argued that identities were instrumental cultural tools that people created and reshaped in the politics of group interaction. Recognition of identity change grew when the “ethnic boundaries” concept was introduced by Fredrik Barth (1969), and boundary crossing was recognized as common. As culture was brought back into the picture in the 1980s, essentialists continued a position similar to earlier primordialists, insisting that tradition, language, or ancestry defines and dictates identity, whereas constructivists demonstrated how such seeming essences were actively produced, and ethnohistorians honed the concept of “ethnogenesis”—the emergence of new groups and identities—to describe community fission and coalescence. By the end of the century, most anthropologists appeared to accept that cultural identities are socially

AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, Vol. 107, Issue 3, pp. 432–445, ISSN 0002-7294, electronic ISSN 1548-1433. © 2005 by the American Anthropological Association. All rights reserved. Please direct all requests for permission to photocopy or reproduce article content through the University of California Press’s Rights and Permissions website, at <http://www.ucpress.edu/journals/rights.htm>.

contextualized, constructed, manipulated, and both politically and emotionally motivated. However, cultural identities also maintain the appearance of having essential and enduring qualities. We now know that the historical memory long considered crucial to cultural identity is balanced by a historical imagination.

Nevertheless, questions remain over just how malleable identities are and what these new understandings mean for policy and practice. Taking up the former, Philip Kohl argues that “cultural traditions cannot be fabricated out of whole cloth,” as he believes strict constructivists allege. He favors contextual constructivism, which “accepts that social phenomena are continuously constructed and manipulated for historically ascertainable reasons” (1998:233). The neo-Chumash pose a challenge: Their example appears to be a clear case of whole-cloth fabrication, yet the reasons for their ethnogenesis are readily ascertained. Perhaps most intriguing is the fact that the social history of neo-Chumash families contains a clear sequence of identity changes with ascertainable causes spanning four centuries. Rarely do anthropologists confront such unequivocal evidence of many identity changes and its contexts in the same family lines over such a long time. We feel that this history reveals in stark fashion the normalcy of identity change as politically motivated, socially contextualized action.

In a 1997 article, we addressed the implications of ethnogenesis for policy and practice by describing the role anthropologists played in constructing and legitimizing Chumash Traditionalism, the spiritual affiliation of many neo-Chumash. We expressed concern about both concealment of this legitimization and the dismissal of such new culture as spurious or fake under federal heritage policy (Haley and Wilcoxon 1997, 1999). Among Chumash scholars, critics denied the first argument and overlooked the second. They raised objections based on their rejection of evidence that showed founding Traditionalists lacked Chumash ancestry or historical affiliation (Erlandson et al. 1998). Initially, we expected readers would recognize the inherent flaw of our critics’ admissions that they had never investigated this history and their self-contradictory declarations regarding it. Because our focus at the time was cultural production rather than ancestry, we did not respond immediately to this argument. However, it became clear that some readers accepted our critics’ claims regarding ancestry and, as a result, severely misinterpreted our arguments and their implications (see, e.g., Boggs 2002; Field 1999:195; King 2003:111–114, 279–280; Nabokov 2002:146–147).¹ We responded briefly to a few of these (Haley 2003, 2004; Haley and Wilcoxon 2000) but realized we would have to revisit the question in detail if the practical implications of ethnogenesis were going to be widely recognized and discussed. So far, we have described the documentary evidence that undermines scholars’ assertions of a Chumash origin for Chumash Traditionalists (Haley 2002) but not the multiplicity and range of identity changes. John Johnson (2003) corroborates our statements about ancestry. Here we present

and contextualize the identity changes we did not present earlier.

To document neo-Chumash social history, we were drawn back into a literature and documentary evidence on identity formation in colonial Mexico and among Mexican-origin immigrants to the United States familiar to us from other research (e.g., Haley 1997). We were struck by how abundant and well documented identity changes in particular family lines were. Using primary sources, we found sequential identity changes in particular families back to the mid-18th century; using secondary data, we traced back to the mid-16th century.² We know of no cases in the literature with similarly long histories of repeated identity changes in particular family lines, but with similar methods others surely could be added. Also, unlike most published cases, the identity changes in this history are not confined to macro categories, such as from one type of American Indian to another. They cross supposedly impermeable boundaries without intermarriage or adoption. These boundary crossings are one reason why scholars often fail to accurately describe neo-Chumash social history: Few expect to have to cross borders of ethnic literatures to trace particular families.

As John Moore points out with respect to the significance of ethnic group names and naming, “the mutual perspectives represented in ethnonymy are a sensitive indicator [*sic*] of social and political issues, past and present” (2001:33). Taking volatile 16th-century Mexico as an arbitrary starting point, our subjects were assigned obligations and privileges via Spain’s imposition of a caste system and a *gente de razón*–*gente sin razón* division associated with the legal distinction between the *república de españoles* and *república de indios*.³ We can trace mobility between categories, facilitated by frontier social conditions and willing or unaware authorities, to the end of the 18th century when the caste system collapsed. Our subjects were among those who participated in *Californio* ethnogenesis when they felt estranged and isolated from a distracted postindependence Mexico. They keenly felt the effects of U.S. conquest and its imposed racial ideology after 1848. Retaining white status became a challenge because of declining class standing and political power. In the late 19th century, they began asserting Spanish identity to avoid prejudice against rising numbers of Mexican immigrants. In this regard, they were assisted by the rise of cultural tourism that valued Spanishness. A critical scholarly assault on Spanishness in the 1960s and 1970s weakened this strategy. Simultaneously, the federal government’s search for unrecorded indigenes to settle a land dispute, elevation of the stature of indigenous identity by countercultural and ecopolitical movements, and local organizing made Chumash identity appeal to these working-class families. Last, negative public reaction to rising Mexican immigration at the close of the century appears to reinforce a willingness to assert indigenous identity.

Figure 1 summarizes these changes. They follow the reticular pattern of ethnogenesis described by Moore (1994)

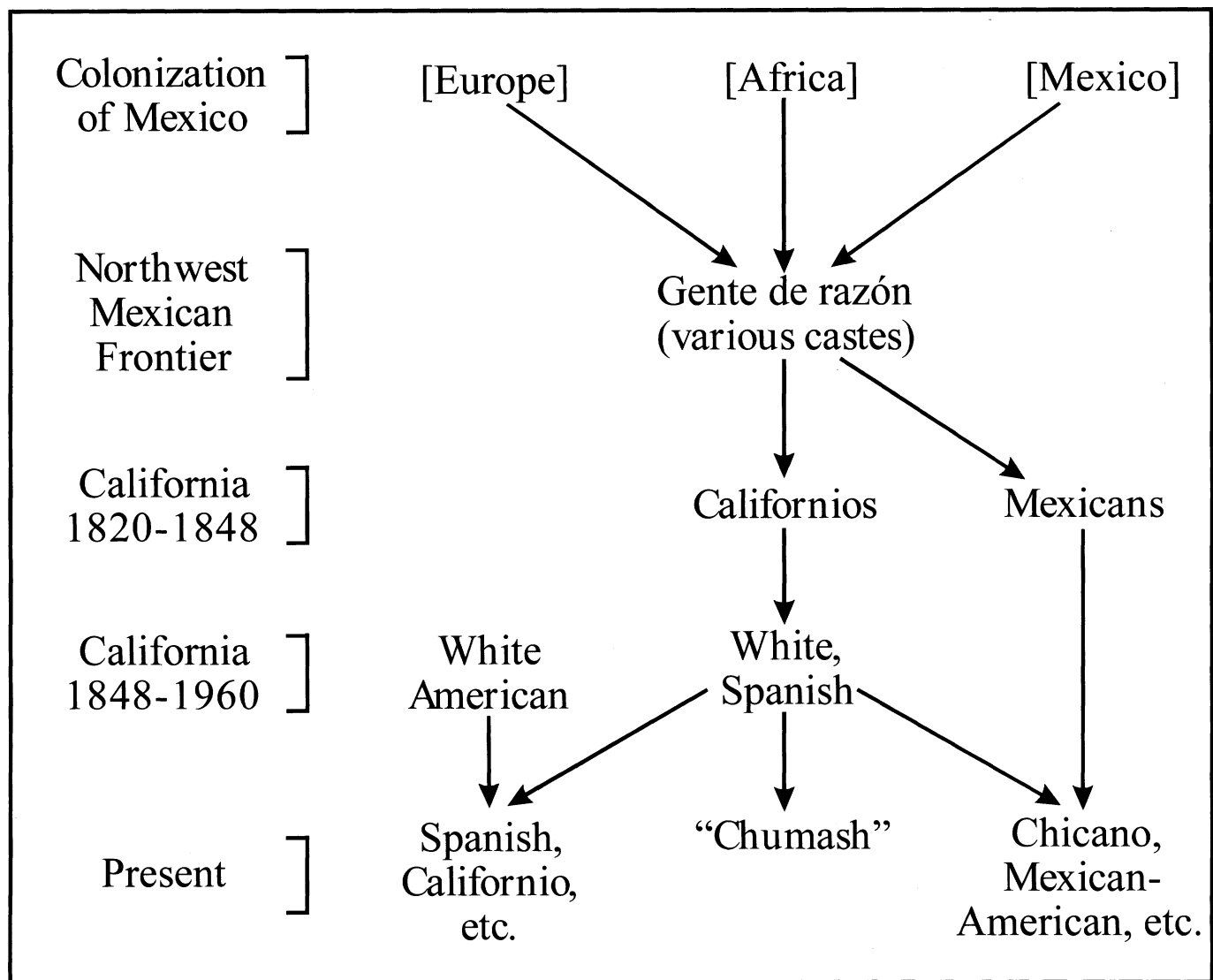


FIGURE 1. The ethnogenesis of neo-Chumash and other Californio identities deriving from the same immigrant group.

and others (e.g., Terrell 2001). These identity changes correspond to the interactionist theories of Barth (1969) and the mercantile and capitalist dynamics described by Eric Wolf (1982). They are developed further in application to indigenization, the power of states, class, and migration by Michael Kearney (2004) and Jonathan Friedman (1999). Our historical reconstruction resembles two other works but differs from both in important ways. Lisbeth Haas (1995) describes many of the same historical identity changes in southern California, but she neither includes the earlier data nor recognizes the indigenization of identity we demonstrate here. Martha Menchaca (2001) covers the same time span, yet she essentializes identity in ways that we directly challenge and fails to recognize her own absorption into the neo-Chumash movement. We further explore her case later in this article.

Our focus here is on the lineal kin depicted in Figure 2. Reflecting the small size of the party that founded Santa Barbara, members of the two charts are related: All of generation C and two in D in the lower chart are also in the

upper chart.⁴ Our writings on identity change among descendants of colonial Santa Barbara address several kindreds (e.g., Haley in press). The present work implicates more. Other family histories illustrate the same processes, but we selected these examples for their richness and to correct errors by other scholars. To add context, we occasionally present information on collateral kin and affines—many prominent in California history. Richard Handler (1985) advocates avoiding ethnonyms because of their ethically problematic legitimizing effect, but we use all of the known ethnonyms in the group's history to emphasize the fluidity of identity. We also feel we must use the term *neo-Chumash* to acknowledge the sustained existence of a contested social boundary between the neo-Chumash and the Chumash communities living in Santa Ynez, Santa Barbara, and Ventura, who are descended from contact-era villages and who have maintained a continuous identity as local indigenes (Johnson 2003; McLendon and Johnson 1999). The legitimacy that neo-Chumash derive from outsiders pressures Chumash to accept them as coethnics, but enduring

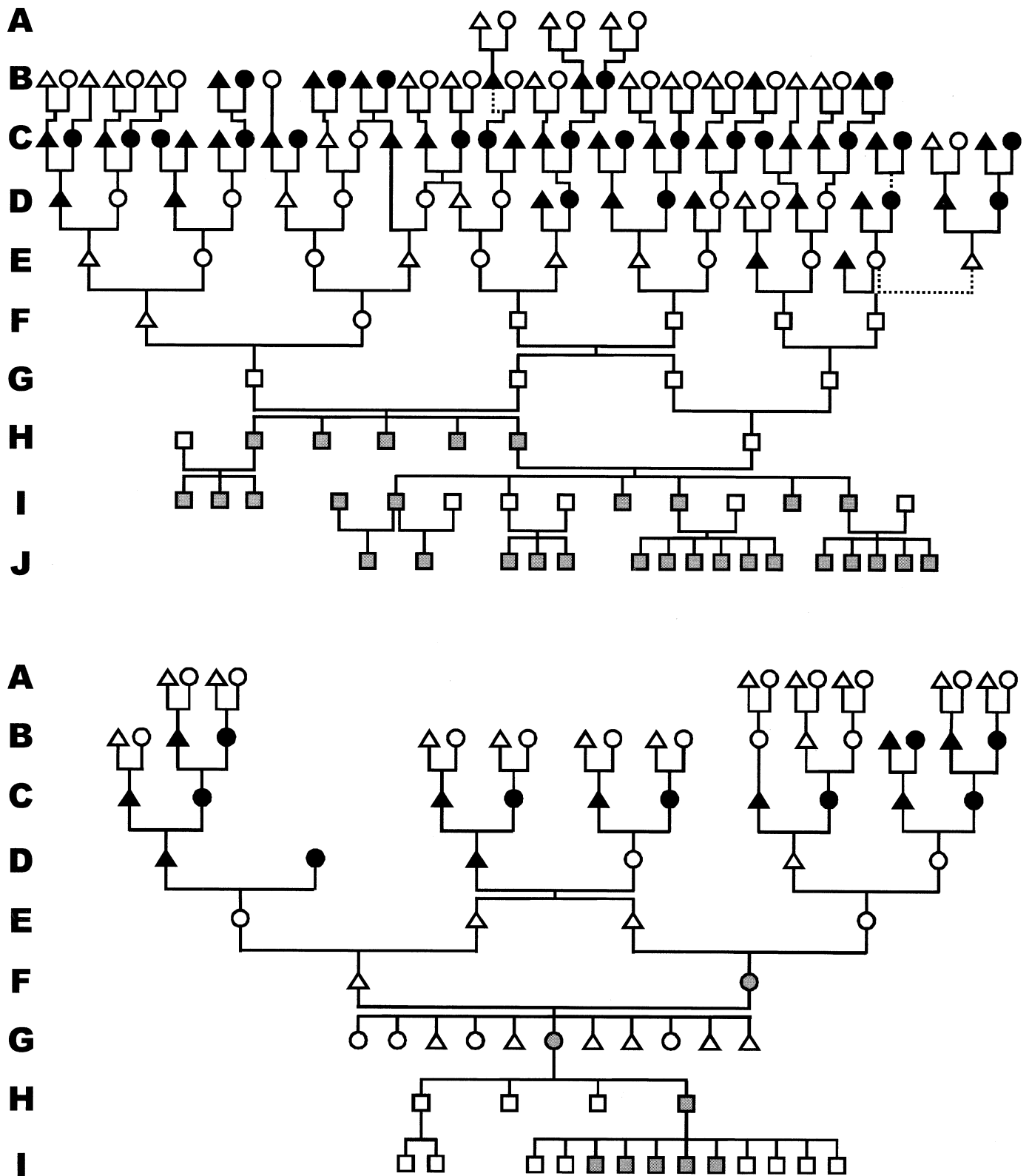


FIGURE 2. Kinship charts of neo-Chumash (gray) and their colonial immigrant ancestors from northwest Mexico (black). Dashed lines in the upper chart indicate unmarried (generations B and E) and adoptive (generation C–D) parents.

collaborations have been rare. We know a fraction of those our work addresses. If any of them were to lose public legitimacy, it is not clear who, if anyone, might benefit. However, there are potential consequences, so we omit names and sex after a certain date.

CULTURAL IDENTITIES ON NEW SPAIN'S NORTHERN FRONTIER

When Spanish colonizers seized control of central Mexico in the 16th century, they used racial criteria for making and preserving major social distinctions between themselves as elites, Africans as slaves, and Indians residing in semiautonomous *repúblicas de indios* as tribute payers and food producers. This legal system of identities became more complex as intermediate categories were added to address the rapidly rising numbers of people of multiple ancestries (Seed 1982). A second classification distinguished *gente de razón* (people of reason) from *gente sin razón* (people without reason): This was, essentially, a contrast between "civilized" people and the Native "barbarians" who resisted colonial control (Nugent 1998). It grew out of the 1550–51 debates over whether New World peoples should be subdued by force. The distinction gained salience as the frontier pushed northward from central Mexico into the desert, where the Spanish encountered nomadic and resistant Chichimecans who contrasted with the sedentary peoples of central Mexico, many of whom had allied with the Spanish, accepted Catholicism, and were sent to settle and pacify the northern desert in the latter half of the 16th century (Powell 1952:44, 108–109, 252 n. 12). In 1573, the Crown gave primary responsibility for exploration and pacification to missionaries (Weber 1992:78). As mission-based settlement and pacification succeeded, the Holy Office of the Inquisition sought to convert and then protect these Indian neophytes from prosecution for heresies: As *gente sin razón*, they were, like children, not yet fully rational or responsible (Gutiérrez 1991:195).

The conflation of legally sanctioned identity with ancestry produced notions of purity and mixture belied by historical evidence. *Españoles* claimed "purity of blood" justified their high status; mixed ancestry *mestizos*, *mulatos*, and others carried the stigma of presumed illegitimacy; an association with slave status further stigmatized African ancestry (*negros*, *mulatos*, etc.).⁵ In fact, the first *mestizos* were absorbed by the *españoles*, and later the child of an *español* and a *castizo* (idealized as 3/4 *español*) was also classified as *español*. Record keeping was not rigorous. Officials usually "lightened" caste by "correcting" it to correspond to occupation and to approximate spouse's caste as they felt it should (Seed 1982). Mobility between castes was constrained by one's social networks. According to R. Douglas Cope (1994), minor changes, such as *indio* to *mestizo*, might reflect marriage or closer association with Spanish patrons, but major shifts, such as *negro* to *mestizo*, required new social networks.

The northern frontier offered such conditions. Catholic missions, as well as *gente de razón* soldiers and settlers of many castes, moved the frontier northwestward. Mission communities were reserved for *indio* neophytes, whereas the *gente de razón* settled in presidial communities, mining camps, and towns. Social mobility occurred as mission secularization turned protected neophytes into tribute-paying *gente de razón* citizens, and migration facilitated hiding one's background. Military service, tenantry, and mining brought together *indios* and lower-class *gente de razón* in common communities that fostered intermarriage and caste mobility, muting caste distinctions. Officials who recorded caste emphasized different criteria among skin color, clothing, hairstyles, occupation, behavior, a person's local standing, and known ancestry. With skilled individuals often in short supply and authority far to the south, upward caste mobility became commonplace (Jackson 1997; Radding 1997). The frontier was a zone of opportunity, where *indios* became *gente de razón* and *mestizos*, *negros* became *mulatos* and *moriscos*, and *mestizos* and *mulatos* became *españoles*. Caste terms on the frontier on the eve of California's colonization were terms of status and respect, and not simply labels of presumed biological ancestry (Gutiérrez 1991:196–206; Mason 1998; Weber 1992:326–329).

In 1769, the colonization of California (Alta California) began via a series of expeditions launched from frontier communities in Baja California del Sur, Sonora, and Sinaloa. The Portolá expedition of 1769–70 founded presidios and missions at San Diego and Monterey. A few additional soldiers from Mexico were posted to California through 1775, including the first families in 1774. In 1776, the Anza expedition brought nearly 200 soldiers, colonists, wives, and children, doubling Spain's representatives in California. A trickle of postings occurred until 1781, when the Rivera y Moncada expedition brought 62 soldiers, their families, and 12 settler families, who founded Los Angeles and the Santa Barbara presidio. The expedition ignited a revolt by Yumas that closed the best land route to California, curtailing major colonizing. By 1790, California's colonial population numbered about 1,000 persons distributed among four presidios, two pueblos, and 12 missions; only about 300 more had arrived by 1820 (Mason 1998:17–44; Weber 1992:236–265).

CASTE YIELDS TO RAZÓN

The castes of California's colonists reflect the diverse and fluid composition of the colonial military in northwest Mexico at the time. Table 1 lists the colonial immigrant ancestors of our neo-Chumash by date of immigration. A letter in the third column corresponds to generations marked in Figure 2 and the text. The immigrants originate primarily in presidial towns of Sonora, Sinaloa, and Baja California del Sur. Garrison lists and other sources indicate that at least 32 of the 34 male immigrants were *soldados* at some point in their lives. Caste can be tallied only for a specific

TABLE 1. Ancestors of neo-Chumash who emigrated from Mexico to California, 1769–1820; arranged by date of immigration, generation (Gen.), birthplace, and occupation.⁶

Immigration Date and Event	Immigrants: Individuals and Family Groups by Head	Gen.	Birthplace	Occupation
1769 Portolá Expedition	Domínguez, Juan José	B	Villa Sinaloa, Sinaloa	Soldier
	Cordero, Mariano Antonio	D	Loreto, Baja California	Soldier
By October 5, 1773	Sinoba, José Francisco	C	Ciudad México, México	Soldier
1774 Rivera Sinaloa Recruits	Lugo, Francisco Salvador de	C	Villa Sinaloa, Sinaloa	Soldier
	Martínez, Juana María Rita	C	Villa Sinaloa, Sinaloa	
By 1776	Verdugo, Juan Diego	B	El Fuerte, Sinaloa	Soldier
	Carrillo, María Ignacia de la Concep.	B	Loreto, Baja California	
1776 De Anza Expedition	Arellano, Manuel Ramírez	B	Puebla, Puebla	Soldier
	López De Haro, María Agueda	B	Alamos, Sonora	
	Bojórquez, José Ramon	B	Villa Sinaloa, Sinaloa	Soldier
	Romero, María Francisca	B	Villa Sinaloa, Sinaloa	
	Bojórquez, María Gertrudis	C	Villa Sinaloa, Sinaloa	
	Lisalde, Pedro Antonio	C	Villa Sinaloa, Sinaloa	Soldier
	Pico, Felipe Santiago de la Cruz	C	San Xavier de Cabazán, Sinaloa	Soldier
	Bastida, María Jacinta	C	Tepic, Nayarit	
	Pico, José Miguel	D	San Xavier de Cabazán, Sinaloa	
	Pinto, Pablo	C	Villa Sinaloa, Sinaloa	Soldier
	Ruelas, Francisca Xaviera	C	Villa Sinaloa, Sinaloa	
	Pinto, Juana Francisca	D	Villa Sinaloa, Sinaloa	
Circa 1778	Cota, Roque Jacinto De	C	El Fuerte, Sinaloa	Soldier
	Verdugo, Juana María	C	Loreto, Baja California	
	Cota, María Loreta	D	Loreto, Baja California	
	Cota, Mariano Antonio	D	Loreto, Baja California	
	Domínguez, María Ursula	C	Santa Gertrudis, Baja California	
	Rubio, Mateo	C	Ypres, Flanders (Belgium)	Soldier
1781 Rivera Expedition	Alanís, Máximo	C	Chametla, Sinaloa	Soldier
	Miranda, Juana María	C	Alamos, Sonora	
	Alipaz-Perez, Ignacio	B	Mexico	Soldier
	Pérez, María Encarnación	C	Pueblo de Ostimuri, Sonora	
	Domínguez, Ildefonso	C	Villa Sinaloa, Sinaloa	Soldier
	Germán, María Ygnacia	C	Villa Sinaloa, Sinaloa	
	Domínguez, José María	D	Villa Sinaloa, Sinaloa	Soldier
	Feliz, Juan Victorino	C	Cosalá, Sinaloa	Soldier
	Landeros, María Micaela	C	Cosalá, Sinaloa	
	Feliz, María Marcelina	D	Cosalá, Sinaloa	
	Fernández, José Rosalino	C	El Fuerte, Sonora	Soldier
	Quintero, María Josefa Juana Concep.	C	Alamos, Sonora	
	Lugo, Josef Ygnacio Manuel	C	Villa Sinaloa, Sinaloa	Soldier
	Sánchez, María Gertrudis	C	Villa Sinaloa, Sinaloa	
	Lugo, José Miguel	D	Villa Sinaloa, Sinaloa	
	Quijada, Vicente	D	Alamos, Sonora	Soldier
	Quintero, Luis Manuel	B	Guadalajara, Jalisco	Army tailor
	Rubio, María Petra Timotea	B	Alamos, Sonora	
	Ruiz, Efigenio	B	El Fuerte, Sinaloa	Soldier
	López, María Rosa	B	El Fuerte, Sinaloa	
	Ruiz, José Pedro	C	El Fuerte, Sinaloa	
	Villavicencio, Antonio Clemente Feliz	C	Chihuahua, Chihuahua	Settler recruit
	Flores, María de los Santos	C	Batopilas, Chihuahua	
	Piñuelas, María Antonia Josefa	D	Villa Sinaloa, Sinaloa	
	Rodríguez, José Ygnacio	C	Alamos, Sonora	Soldier
	Parra, Juana Paula de la Cruz	C	Alamos, Sonora	
1787	Romero, Juan María	C	Loreto, Baja California	Soldier
	Salgado, María Lugarda	C	Loreto, Baja California	
	Romero, José Antonio	D	Loreto, Baja California	
Circa 1788–1789	Guevara, Joseph Ignacio R. Ladron de	D	Queretaro, Queretaro	Soldier
	Rivera, María Ygnacia	D	Santa Cruz del Mayo, Sonora	
Circa 1804–1810	Urquides, José Encarnación	D	El Fuerte, Sinaloa	Poss. Soldier
1819 Mazatlán Squadron	Espinosa, José Ascencio	E	Mazatlán, Sinaloa	Soldier
By 1820 (prob. 1817)	Policarpio	E	San Vicente, Baja California	Poss. Servant

TABLE 2. Caste changes among the immigrants and early U.S. census race classification of those surviving.

	Before 1780	1780	1782– 1785	1790	1850– 1852
Máximo Alanís	mulato	indio	mestizo	español	white
José Ma. Domínguez			español	mestizo	
Rosalino Fernández		mestizo	mulato	mulato	
Juana Ma. Miranda		mestizo		español	
Juana Paula Parra		mulato	mestizo	mestizo	
Luis Quintero		negro	mulato	mulato	
Vicente Quijada			indio	mestizo	
Ignacio Rodríguez		mestizo	mestizo	español	
Gertrudis Sánchez			mestizo	español	
Mateo Rubio			español	europeo	
Teodoro Arrellanes				español	white
Marcelina Felíz			español	español	white
Casilda Sinoba				español	white

Sources: Forbes 1966; Goycochea 1785; Hoar 1852; Mason 1978, 1998; U.S. Census Bureau 1850.

counting event because people's caste changed over time. No tally is complete because of differing lifespans and the virtual disappearance of caste use in California after 1790. The 1790 census records the immigrants in Table 1 as one europeo, 24 españoles, ten mestizos, seven mulatos, two coyotes, two indios, and one morisco.⁷ Typical of the frontier, at least six of our 1790 colonists previously had been lower-ranking castes (see Table 2). As the master tailor for Santa Barbara's presidio, Luis Quintero (B) is listed as a mulato in 1785–90 but as a negro in 1781. Either caste could have excluded him from the master tailor position. José María Pico, son of Felipe Santiago de la Cruz Pico (C), advanced from mestizo in 1782 to español in 1790 while stationed in San Diego, because he probably was considered for promotion. Meanwhile, his full brother José Miguel (D) in Santa Barbara is listed as mulato (Mason 1998:53, 62–63; Northrop 1984:205).

After 1790, caste lost salience throughout Spain's U.S. colonies, because centuries of intermarriage and upward caste mobility meant many respectable citizens had ancestry they wished to hide. Few authorities were willing to trigger scandals with rigorous reporting. This was quite evident in California. California was also the end of Spain's frontier, and social mobility for local indios did not exist as it had in northwestern Mexico. An identity unifying all colonists in juxtaposition to local indios served the small and remote frontier population best. After 1790, this most salient division was expressed as two categories only: gente de razón (which included colonizers formerly classified as indios) and indio (Mason 1998:45–64; Miranda 1988).

THE BIRTH OF CALIFORNIO IDENTITY

Gente de razón settlement grew slowly around the presidio in Santa Barbara, where the presidio chapel as a focal institution reinforced separation from Chumash neophytes at the mission, two kilometers away (about 1.24 miles). California's isolation after 1781, aggravated by Mexico's

war of independence, lasted for more than 40 years, setting the scene for the formation of a regional identity (Mason 1998:36–37). Haas (1995:32–38) locates the origins of Californio identity in policy debates regarding land, mission secularization, and neophyte emancipation after Mexican independence in 1821. Mexico's neglect of California, refusal to appoint a Californian governor, and periodic talk of making California a penal colony angered California's gente de razón. As the federal government secularized missions, redistributed their lands, and transformed neophytes into Mexican citizens, prominent Californians hoped to retain Indian labor by giving the emancipated neophytes lands sufficient only for houses and gardens. They wanted most mission lands for themselves, but the appointed governors delayed land redistribution. In reaction, a "protonationalism" calling for California sovereignty emerged in the 1820s and 1830s (Sánchez 1995:228–267). The movement promoted belief that bonds of territory, language, religion, culture, kinship, and blood distinguished Californios from mexicanos. Californios claimed to be uniquely influenced by the Franciscan missions and to have more "*sangre azul* [blue blood] of Spain" than the rest of Mexico (Haas 1995:37). This suggests that Californios reinterpreted the español caste of their immediate ancestors literally. They began calling Mexicans "extranjeros" (foreigners), a label previously applied only to non-Mexicans. Proponents of independence included leading Santa Barbarans who were close affinal, collateral, and fictive kinsmen to individuals represented in Figure 2 and first cousins of generations D and E in other regions (Sánchez 1995:228–267).

Their own divisions and the U.S.–Mexican War thwarted the Californio's vision of independence, although they did acquire the governorship and most former mission lands before war broke out. Large land grants formed the basis of the livestock economy of California in the 19th century, positioned some Californios as elites, and buttressed their sense of uniqueness. If this did not add a class dimension to Californio identity, it at least caused scholars to assume the grantees were an aristocratic "Spanish" elite distinct from the "mixed race" commoners and the only colonists to assert Californio identity (Camarillo 1996:1). Our case supports challenges to this view (Haas 1995; Miranda 1988). Six men in generations B–D received Spanish land concessions before Mexican independence. By 1845, Mexico had converted two of these to grants and given six new grants to men in generations C–E (Allen 1976:19, 26, 30; Bancroft 1964:29, 40, 122, 286, 309, 314). The 1790 census lists four of these men as españoles, one as mestizo, his wife and son (also a grantee) as mulatos, the parents of another as mestizos, and the mother of another as a mulato (Mason 1998). At least three of these—Máximo Alanís (C), José Ygnacio Rodríguez (C), and José María Domínguez (D)—experienced caste mobility (see Table 2), and it is likely that families embellished their status after obtaining grants (Miranda 1988). Land grants supported

extended sets of kin who supplied some of the rancho's labor. At least five adults in generations C–E plus an unknown number of their children were in such positions (Allen 1976:19–40). Young men in these ranching families were *vaqueros* (cowboys), *rancheros*, farmers, laborers, and shepherds (U.S. Census Bureau 1850, 1860). We cannot definitively answer the question about class and Californio identity, but we can unequivocally state that some of our “Spanish” elites and their “mixed race” workers shared the same ancestry.

BECOMING WHITE AND SPANISH

With the close of the U.S.–Mexican War in 1848, Californios themselves became a colonized people. The imposition by the United States of its policies and culture profoundly influenced identities. Four processes are crucial in this period: the marginalization of Californios, negotiation of white racial status, anti-Mexican prejudice associated with postwar Mexican immigration, and the emergence of Spanish identity. The postwar marginalization of Californios is well documented (Pitt 1966). Anglo-Americans took control of the state's wealth, rationalizing their actions with claims of Manifest Destiny, racial purity, and superior “civilization.” Land and authority were wrested from Californios, leaving most in low-paying manual labor jobs. The United States erected a costly procedure for patenting Mexican land titles to meet U.S. standards. Even *rancheros* who secured their patents were bankrupted or so weakened financially by the process that subsequent calamities ruined them (Camarillo 1996:86; Conrow 1993:113). Most land grants passed from Californio ownership by 1875 (Pitt 1966:250–251).

In Santa Barbara, the impacts are apparent in the 1870 U.S. Census. For example, land grant heir Geronimo Ruiz (E) is recorded as a farmer in 1852, a stock raiser (a term applied to economic elites) in 1860, and an election official in 1864 (de la Guerra 1864; Hoar 1852:20; U.S. Census Bureau 1860:196).⁸ By 1870, he was a day laborer (U.S. Census Bureau 1870:475). From 1860 to 1870, most of Santa Barbara's *rancheros* and farmers became *vaqueros*, herders, and teamsters; from the late 1870s through World War I, they sheared sheep and found part-time urban work (Camarillo 1996:83–100).

Intensified poverty in the 1870s and 1880s drove women and children into farm, domestic, and laundry work. Some required public assistance (Conrow 1993:115). The men of generations F–H and nearly all their collateral kinsmen worked as farm workers, day laborers, or laborers, according to censuses through 1930.⁹ After the city election of 1874 left Californios with a single representative, they were an economically and politically weak minority enclave in Pueblo Viejo, the neighborhood surrounding the remains of the old presidio. Households headed by generations E–H were part of the close-knit, intricately interrelated, and endogamous community into the early 20th

century. A few households helped establish a Californio enclave in the suburb of Montecito before 1880 but retained strong ties to Pueblo Viejo (Camarillo 1996:63, 72, 110, 185; Conrow 1993:115; Garcia-Moro et al. 1997:215; U.S. Census Bureau 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880, 1900, 1910).

In 1849, the California constitutional convention fulfilled treaty protections for the rights of former Mexican citizens by enfranchising Californios (Pitt 1966:45, 84). At the time, the United States granted full legal privileges only to persons considered “white,” so the phenotypically diverse Californios officially became white. Table 2 includes four individuals who have Spanish caste and U.S. race classifications recorded. In addition to the changeling, Máximo Alanís (C), who previously was recorded as *mulato*, *indio*, *mestizo*, and *español*, Casilda Sinoba's (D) mother and maternal grandparents were listed as *mestizos* in 1790 (Mason 1998:83, 104). Despite official classification, ambiguity remained in practice. In the 1880s, Hubert H. Bancroft characterized Californios' whiteness as a mere “badge of respectability” (Haas 1995:172). Complicating matters and giving new salience to the old division between Californios and Mexicans was growing anti-Mexican sentiment stirred by labor migration from Mexico between 1890 and 1920. Santa Barbara's Californios felt this prejudice in 1916–27, even though Mexican newcomers settled mainly in other neighborhoods. Pejorative use of *Mexican* and *greaser* by Anglos triggered schoolyard and workplace conflicts. Some facilities segregated or excluded darker-skinned Californios. Voluntary repatriations of indigent families to Mexico to relieve welfare costs started in 1926; mass deportations in 1930–33 included some Californios. In 1923, members of a recently formed Santa Barbara Ku Klux Klan chapter accosted a descendant of a presidio soldier. Although the incident ignited public scorn of the Klan, the event was seared into the memories of cousins of generations G and H (Camarillo 1996:55, 142, 161–163, 188, 190–195, 290 n. 26; Conrow 1993:117; Ruiz n.d.b). By 1910, two households in generation F and one in generation G increased their separation from most Mexican immigrants by moving to Santa Barbara's west side, where all of generations H and I in one chart of Figure 2 concentrated shortly thereafter. The others continued to reside in the Montecito enclave.¹⁰

By the late 19th century, asserting Spanish identity emerged as a strategy to evade anti-Mexican prejudice. *Español* or *gente de razón* ancestry became widely interpreted as proof of pure Spanish “blood” and whiteness (Miranda 1981:8, 20 n. 24; 1988). This was risky for Californios because any other ancestry implied racial inferiority, as some early Anglo historians declared. Sympathetic scholars, therefore, left caste out of their publications until the 1970s (Mason 1998:45–46). The success of Spanish identity lies in its importance to Santa Barbara tourism. The City of Santa Barbara spent the 1870s and 1880s demolishing Pueblo Viejo adobes to create new streets, yet the city was quickly becoming a tourist destination with Pueblo Viejo one of its attractions. As tourism

grew, Anglos and Californios alike expressed nostalgia for the town's disappearing character (Camarillo 1996:38–41, 54–56; Schultz 1993:9–15). These feelings partook of a romanticism creating lucrative interpretations of Spanish and Native American cultures throughout the Southwest (McWilliams 1990:43–50; Thomas 1991). The California movement created an idyllic pastoral Spanish past with sweeping mission architecture, refined rancheros, kindly missionaries, and contented yet childlike Indians. After a 1925 earthquake leveled much of Santa Barbara, officials imposed a Santa Barbara architectural style that Hispanicized the city visually. These moves solidified being Spanish as an acceptable identity even when being Mexican was not. Spanishness could help individuals gain access to those in power, escape anti-Mexican prejudice, and perhaps obtain a civic appointment (McWilliams 1990:43–50).

One of Santa Barbara's expressions of Spanishness was the creation of the annual Old Spanish Days Fiesta in 1924. The first Old Spanish Days Fiesta Committee sought the participation of local Californios to lend "authenticity" to the event (Conrow 1993:115–116, 118). Some scholars suggest that only Californio elites asserted a Spanish identity (Camarillo 1996:69–70; McWilliams 1990:44–50; Pitt 1966:284–296). However, the individuals credited with bringing Spanish participation into the 1924 Old Spanish Days Fiesta were Geronimo Ruiz's (E) nieces (Haley in press), and participants included our farmworking and laboring families in generations G–I.

The pursuit of Spanish identity by working class Californios left many traces. Because of space limitations, we offer just one example (see also Haley in press): descendants of José Ygnacio Ladrón de Guevara (D) through the "less distinguished" family (Miranda 1978:189, 195 nn. 18, 20) of his Santa Barbara-born son José Canuto Guevara (E; see Table 1). By the early 1900s, the homesteads of Canuto's son (F) and grandson (G) failed, so they returned to vaquero, day laborer, and teamster work (U.S. Census Bureau 1900:District 155 Sheet 3A, 1910:District 173 Sheet 13B, District 221 Sheet 9B, 1920:District 101 Sheet 10B). In 1911, the *Morning Press* memorialized Canuto's just deceased son (F) as the "last of the old vaqueros," whose father [José Canuto] "*came from Spain, from Madrid. So the old vaquero's traditions reached back to old Castile*" (Obituary Files n.d.:Book G, emphasis added). The 1930 census records the race of the grandson's (G) family as Spanish, presumably as they reported it (U.S. Census Bureau 1930:District 11 Sheet 26A). His wife, daughters, and granddaughters made Spanish costumes for and participated in the Old Spanish Days Fiesta for many years. Decades later, a granddaughter (H) and grandson of the "old vaquero" (F) stated separately that Canuto had been born in Spain but gave different locations (Obituary Files n.d.:Books G and H; Pico n.d.; Ruiz n.d.a). The grandson also rationalized the "old vaquero's" (F) physical appearance: He had spent "many hours each day on horseback caring for the animals. The outdoor life gave him a tawny brown skin, which contrasted dramatically with his curly white hair" (Ruiz n.d.a).

All of the ancestors of our neo-Chumash living between 1850 and 1930, including the oldest future neo-Chumash, were recorded as white in U.S. and state censuses: 67 of those in generations C–I in Figure 2. This includes all of generations F–I in one chart (excluding two spouses), even as tensions over immigration heightened. Even in the 1930 census—the only one with *Mexican* as an official race—this group is recorded as white or Spanish. Most census enumerators in Santa Barbara from 1910 through 1930 distinguished Spanish or Californios from recent Mexican immigrants. Suburban Montecito, however, where generations F–H in the other chart in Figure 2 lived, was polarized between wealthy elites and their servants and laboring classes (Camarillo 1996:63). In 1910, 13 of these were recorded as Other, with "Mex" written in the form's margin. In 1920, they were recorded as white, but in 1930, four were recorded as Mexican. The persistent low-class status of generations F–I in both charts and their long-standing assertions of Spanish ancestry suggest they all faced repeated challenges to sustaining white status. Generations H and I were still identifying themselves as white by 1946 on Social Security forms. All continued to associate primarily with other Spanish-Californios (Conrow 1993:116; Schultz 1993:13).

CLAIMING CHUMASH IDENTITY

Spanish identity lost its luster in the 1960s, as scholars embraced Carey McWilliams's 1948 call for replacing the Southwest's Spanish "fantasy heritage" with "racial pride" that recognized Spanish Americans and Mexican Americans as a single people (Camarillo 1996:1; McWilliams 1990:53; Pitt 1966:277–296; Thomas 1991:136). The Chicano movement emerging alongside this essentialist ideology briefly attracted some future neo-Chumash. However, at the same time, the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs reopened judgment rolls listing persons qualified to receive shares of a federal cash settlement of California Indian land claims. Assuming that most California Indians had merged with Spanish-Californios, Santa Barbara genealogist Rosario Curletti offered to help Spanish families document their California Indian ancestry to obtain a settlement share. Descendants of generation G were among Curletti's clients. The oral and written record indicates that they knew little of their ancestry before generation E or G. Once on this path, they continued to claim Native California ancestry despite Curletti's failure to find any. Faced with a deadline in one of these cases, Curletti submitted a letter asserting her clients' right to judgment fund payments based on descent from María Paula Rubio (D), whose mother Ursula was an indio from Baja California. Curletti hoped to take advantage of the judgment's definition of California Indians as "all Indians who were residing in the State of California on June 1, 1852, and their descendants now living in said State" (25 USC 14, Sub. 25, Sec. 651). Curletti wrote, "So I submit that although the original bloodline of Ursula is from Baja California, she moved into California a full 200 years ago and her descendants continue to enrich the warp and woof of California

being. Paula was considered Indian and her Indian blood was respected by her contemporaries" (Curletti 1969).

Curletti accurately reconstructed descent, but her claim that Paula's contemporaries considered her Indian appears unfounded. Ursula was María Ursula Domínguez (C) from Baja California (see Table 1). Her mother was a neophyte of Mission Santa Gertrudis, Baja California, probably ethnically Cochimí. Ursula's recorded natural father was Juan José Domínguez (B), stationed in San Diego when Ursula arrived from Baja California in 1778 at roughly 15 years of age and married Mateo Rubio (C). The 1790 census lists Juan José as español, Ursula as india, and Mateo Rubio as europeo; it does not, however, provide a caste for Mateo and Ursula's children, who could have been classified as either mestizos or castizos. Other Spanish and Mexican records classify their children as gente de razón rather than indios.¹¹ Paula Rubio's descendants were recorded as white in U.S. censuses, and the "old vaquero" in generation F noted above—whose father was born in Spain according to his grandchildren—was the oldest living ancestor in this line on July 1, 1852, the judgment's date for qualifying as a California Indian (Hoar 1852; U.S. Census Bureau 1850, 1900, 1910). Curletti appears to be the first authority to classify Ursula's descendants as Indians and to assert that neo-Chumash have California Indian ancestry. It appears likely that most of the Santa Barbara Spanish or Californio families that subsequently became neo-Chumash got their initial spark from Curletti's research.

In 1969, the two-year-old Indian Project at the University of California, Santa Barbara, launched the Chumash Identification Project (n.d.) to "restore the 'Chumash-ness'" to the region. It formed a loose coalition in 1970 trying to unite Chumash and increase public awareness of Chumash culture. Included among its 144 founding members were enrolled members of the federally recognized Santa Ynez Band, Santa Barbara Chumash families, and Curletti's neo-Chumash. Although the group's by-laws required voting members to be Chumash descendants, no one verified ancestry. Therefore, voters in the first election included 11 members of generations H–J, one of whom was even elected to office. Members of generations I and J then also joined the coalition. Curletti's inability to find their ostensible Chumash ancestry, in addition to other coalition members' memories of them as Spanish, fueled conflicts that caused the Santa Ynez and Santa Barbara Chumash to quit. Therefore, by the late 1970s, the coalition was controlled by generations I and J (O'Connor 1989:13).

Some members of generation J were participants in a non-Indian countercultural commune, the leader of which advanced the idea that Santa Barbara lies in a sacred space where the Chumash, an ancient civilized race, would return to prominence after a great apocalypse (Trompf 1990).¹² Generation J participants were encouraged to express Chumash identity in these settings and were inspired to construct a more satisfying culture, which they promoted as "Chumash Traditionalism." The Chumash Identification Project's coalition provided participants entree into local

environmental disputes; there, Chumash identity proved valuable to development opponents. These environmental disputes, often involving interventions on behalf of the neo-Chumash by anthropologists, earned them wider legitimacy (Haley and Wilcoxon 1997; O'Connor 1989). The coalition also sought federal acknowledgment as an Indian tribe for neo-Chumash members. Because federal acknowledgment requires political and social continuities, the process fostered claims that earlier generations "had to hide their Indianness," went "underground," or had "passed as Mexican." However, the push for federal acknowledgment stalled when the coalition ran out of funds and a second genealogist confirmed the lack of Chumash ancestry in neo-Chumash history.

In a recent study, Martha Menchaca uses her "Chumash" in-laws to support her "unconventional view that Mexican Americans were part of the indigenous peoples of the American Southwest," because "by the turn of the nineteenth century a large part of the mestizo colonial population was of southwestern American Indian descent" (2001:2, 17). However, Menchaca makes a serious error: She assumes that castes, races, and current identity assertions transparently reflect ancestry. Unfortunately, her in-laws are among the neo-Chumash in Figure 1, so much of Menchaca's work is simply untenable. Nevertheless, the significance of Menchaca's legitimizing of neo-Chumash is its reassertion and racializing of territorial primacy—as when their Californio ancestors called Mexicans "foreigners." Previously an advantage of Spanish identity, territorial primacy is reasserted now in indigenous form to counteract the renewed immigrant loathing rampant in the region. Born into an immigrant family herself, Menchaca has both experienced and studied California's anti-Mexican prejudice. Our own research confirms its severity (Haley 1997), so again we find ourselves sympathetic to a scholar's motives although not necessarily her scholarship. Menchaca does not challenge the ideological basis of anti-immigrant prejudice; instead, she simply redirects it against other categories of people.

NORMALIZING NEO-CHUMASH ETHNOGENESIS

From an arbitrary 16th-century starting point, we have traced changes in cultural identity within related families transiting through various castes, gente sin and de razón, Californio, white, Spanish, and neo-Chumash. These changes occurred because of an inherent defect of the classification scheme, as an identity lost salience amidst changing conditions, as subjects sought higher status, or because of a combination of these. Within this context, the transformation of Santa Barbara Spanish families into neo-Chumash does not seem unusual. Certainly, it is a revision of history from whole cloth, yet it also reflects the local social context in ascertainable ways. Clearly, people can create identities from whole cloth if they have access to appropriate knowledge and outside support, and if the identity fits local expectations. Neo-Chumash ethnogenesis is a rejection of two viable alternative identities, whose origin stories also

incorporate objective errors: (1) Spanish-Californio, which stresses the frontier as formative yet tends to romanticize and whiten history, and (2) Chicano or Mexican American, which racializes Mexican heritage and appropriates "the decline of the Californios" for later immigrants. The simultaneous existence of all three identities challenges assumptions that an association with Mexico dictates a unified identity.

Nation-state policies, frontiers, and borders play major roles in shaping identity. The identities we have described include some accompanied by legal sanctions and some that are not. The former include colonial castes, *gente de razón*–*gente sin razón*, U.S. categories of "whiteness" preceding 1960, Indian, Mexican in 1930, and immigrant. Those not legally sanctioned include Californio and Spanish identities. Caste, white, and neo-Chumash (esp. through the California judgment roll's use of a date to define California Indians) each conflate legal status with origin, even though precision regarding origin was not crucial to the original act of classifying. This gives rise to similar issues. Ascription of identity by outsiders is one of cultural identity's most crucial elements (Barth 1969). It normally involves negotiation and frequently contestation. Legal sanctioning formalizes some of the ascription process, inviting contestation. Contestation of any identity may take a pernicious "real" versus "fake" debate form, but this is virtually guaranteed when legal standing is conflated with notions of ancestry. In the debate over the "indigenization of modernity," our data irrefutably confirm Friedman's (1999:392–393) "new and strange combinations" rather than Marshall Sahlins's (1999) reemergence of indigenes. But although Friedman claims that indigenization contests nation-state hegemony, neo-Chumash identity arises in symbiosis with nation-state policies that assisted its rise in the judgment roll process yet also erected constraints in the federal acknowledgment process. In a sense, federal acknowledgment confers a higher status, much as a court's or official's decision about an individual's caste did in the past. A problem for neo-Chumash is that the official "realness" of their chosen identity is predicated on one criterion in negotiating judgment roll status and another for federal acknowledgment. It is precisely the same problem that plagued *español* caste and white racial statuses, which from the outset never conformed to their idealized purity.

The historical data we have presented are the same sort officials use to evaluate federal acknowledgment applications. Barring a major change in policy, our findings suggest that federal acknowledgment is unlikely to be achieved by these neo-Chumash. This is one potential consequence of historical social analysis to which we alluded in our introduction. The best option neo-Chumash may have for retaining public identities as local indigenes may be what Les Field (1999) calls a "culturalist" strategy, which eschews federal acknowledgment in favor of adopting practices thought to be central to a particular identity. This permits their "re-

alness" to derive more from their level of commitment and usefulness to others (Barth 1969). This has proven effective in establishing and maintaining neo-Chumash legitimacy locally and in certain wider networks. The ongoing denial or concealment of the historical record by neo-Chumash and supporters suggests that things are not at the point reached after 1790 in Spain's colonies when authorities precipitated caste's collapse by declining to declare people's caste. We see no scholarly need to demonize neo-Chumash for making their claims, and we do not seek to defend the veracity of their claims. Their social history demonstrates and explains identity's continuous reformulation. Neo-Chumash are who they are now, but not who they have always been or even who they are likely to always be. Nevertheless, with new salience in the context of immigration, indigenization of identity in the Southwest is unlikely to end soon.

BRIAN D. HALEY Department of Anthropology, State University of New York College at Oneonta, Oneonta, NY 13820

LARRY R. WILCOXON Wilcoxon and Associates, Santa Barbara, CA 93101

NOTES

Acknowledgments. Phyllis Olivera compiled the basic genealogical data for Wilcoxon in 1986. We resumed the study in 1999. Research was funded by the University of California Institute for Mexico and the United States and the State University of New York College at Oneonta. We thank the staffs of the Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library; Santa Barbara Presidio Archives; Department of Anthropology, Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History; Gledhill Library, Santa Barbara Historical Society Museum; and Santa Barbara Genealogical Society Library. Michael Kearney generously shared his manuscript prior to publication. Cynthia Klink, Michael Brown, Richard Handler, Frances Mascia-Lees, Susan Lees, and three anonymous *AA* reviewers made helpful comments on drafts. We alone are responsible for all remaining errors or omissions.

1. We are relieved to see Haley and Wilcoxon 1997 also accurately represented (see, e.g., Arnold et al. 2004; Brown 2003:171–204; Warren and Jackson 2002; Weiner 1999).

2. The primary sources consist of colonial expedition and garrison lists, censuses, church and civil registers, oral and written family histories, land records, maps, city directories, obituaries, and letters. See the references for details.

3. The *república de españoles* and *república de indios* were political distinctions imposed early in the colonial era to establish different legal statuses, settlements, rights, and obligations for colonists (*españoles*) and the colonized (*indios*).

4. The upper chart in Figure 2 excludes a sibling relationship in generation B, and both charts exclude individuals in generations H–J.

5. We use a variety of terms (ethnonyms) to denote identity categories. Only a few of the many Spanish colonial caste terms appear in our data. Ancestry for each caste is putative and varies considerably. *Español* designated the highest caste and full Spanish ancestry; *negro*, a low caste of full sub-Saharan African ancestry; and *indio*, a low caste of full New World ancestry. Presumed mixed ancestry and intermediate statuses were designated *mestizo* (1/2 *español*, 1/2 *indio*), *mulato* (1/2 *español*, 1/2 *negro*), *castizo* (3/4 *español*, 1/4 *indio*), *coyote* (3/4 *indio*, 1/4 *español*), and *morisco* (3/4 *negro*, 1/4 *español*). We have one instance of the use of *europeo* to designate a high caste of non-Spanish full European ancestry (Mason 1998:47–50). *Californio* is the ethnonym chosen by California-born colonial descendants during Mexican rule. *Neo-Chumash* is our term for

persons who began claiming local aboriginal—or Chumash—identity in the late 1960s who lack this ancestry.

6. Sources: Allen 1976:15, 18; Anonymous 1834; Bancroft 1884–89, 1964; Barrios 1999–2000; Bean and Mason 1962:60; Crosby 1994:418, 420–421; Eldredge 1912; Franciscan Fathers 1999, n.d.a, n.d.b, n.d.c, n.d.d, n.d.e; Geiger 1972; Gillingham 1983; Layne 1934; Lo Buglio 1977, 1981; Mason 1998; Northrop 1984, 1986; Ortega 1781, 1939.

7. We have not found castes for nine immigrants. Three others not recorded in 1790 were recorded at other times as español, mestizo, and indio. See N. 5 for information on terms.

8. Ex-grantees José de la Asunción Domínguez (E) and José Ramón Romero (F) were listed as laborers in 1860 and 1880, respectively (U.S. Census Bureau 1860:181, 1870:475, 1880:District 82, Sheet 16).

9. Two in generation F owned land that did not produce enough to support them.

10. See Santa Barbara City Directory 1943. Also U.S. Census 1900:District 150 Sheet 5A, District 154 Sheets 13A and B, District 155 Sheet 3A; 1910:District 166 Sheet 9B, District 172 Sheet 5A, District 173 Sheet 13B, District 221 Sheet 9B; 1930:District 8 Sheet 16A, District 54 Sheet 6B.

11. See Bancroft 1964:122–123; Franciscan Fathers 1999: July 4, 1793; Gillingham 1983:86, 191–192, 392; Layne 1934:202; Mason 1998:78; Northrop 1986:125, 289.

12. We have mentioned countercultural influences previously (Erlandson et al. 1998:505; Haley 2002:116) without explaining the role of those communities' beliefs. Reference here is not to the commune of the late Semu Huaute.

REFERENCES CITED

- Allen, Patricia
1976 History of Rancho El Conejo. Ventura County Historical Society Quarterly 21(1):1–97.
- Anonymous
1834 Padrón de Santa Barbara, año de 1834. Archived material, State Papers, Missions, vol. V, p. 506. Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
- Arnold, Jeanne E., Michael R. Walsh, and Sandra E. Hollimon
2004 The Archaeology of California. Journal of Archaeological Research 12(1):1–73.
- Bancroft, Hubert Howe
1884–89 History of California. 7 vols. San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft.
1964 California Pioneer Register and Index, 1542–1848. Baltimore: Regional Publishing.
- Barrios, Felipe
1999–2000[1773] List of Individuals of the Compañía de Cuera of [Loreto] ... Garrisoned in the New Presidios of San Diego and San Carlos de Monterrey. In Spanish-American Surname Histories. Lyman Platt, comp. and ed. Records 312192–312193. Provo, UT: Ancestry, Inc. Electronic database, <http://www.ancestry.com>, accessed January 12, 2001.
- Barth, Fredrik
1969 Introduction. In Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference. Fredrik Barth, ed. Pp. 9–38. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Baudrillard, Jean
1988 America. New York: Verso.
- Bean, John Lowell, and William Marvin Mason
1962 Diaries and Accounts of the Romero Expeditions in Arizona and California. Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press.
- Boggs, James P.
2002 Anthropological Knowledge and Native American Cultural Practice in the Liberal Polity. American Anthropologist 104(2):599–610.
- Brown, Michael F.
2003 Who Owns Native Culture? Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Camarillo, Albert
1996[1979] Chicanos in a Changing Society. 2nd edition. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Chumash Identification Project
N.d. Papers of the Chumash Identification Project. Archived material, Rosario Curletti Collection. Department of Anthropology, Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History, Santa Barbara, CA.
- Conrow, Douglas
1993 The Presidio Hispanic Community, 1880–1920. In Santa Barbara Presidio Area 1840 to the Present. Carl V. Harris, Jarrel C. Jackman, and Catherine Rudolph, eds. Pp. 113–118. Santa Barbara: University of California, Santa Barbara Public Historical Studies, and Santa Barbara Trust for Historic Preservation.
- Cope, R. Douglas
1994 The Limits of Racial Domination. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Crosby, Harry W.
1994 Antigua California: Mission and Colony on the Peninsular Frontier, 1697–1768. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Curletti, Rosario
1969 Letter to the Area Director, Bureau of Indian Affairs “RE: Applications in group labeled: Descendants of Paula Rubio—her mother being ‘la India—Ursula,’” September 18, 1969. Archived material, Rosario Curletti Collection. Department of Anthropology, Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History, Santa Barbara, CA.
- de la Guerra, José
1864 José de la Guerra to Pablo de la Guerra, May 4, 1864, Santa Barbara. Archived material, de la Guerra Papers, Folder 368. Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, Santa Barbara, CA.
- Eldredge, Zoeth Skinner
1912 The Beginnings of San Francisco. New York: John C. Rankin.
- Erlandson, Jon McVey, Chester King, Lillian Robles, Eugene E. Ruyle, Diana Drake Wilson, Robert Winthrop, Chris Wood, Brian D. Haley, and Larry R. Wilcoxon
1998 CA Forum on Anthropology in Public: The Making of Chumash Tradition: Replies to Haley and Wilcoxon. Current Anthropology 39(4):477–510.
- Field, Les
1999 Complicities and Collaborations. Current Anthropology 40(2):193–209.
- Forbes, Jack D.
1966 Black Pioneers: The Spanish-Speaking Afroamericans of the Southwest. Phylon 27(3):233–246.
- Franciscan Fathers
1999 Matrimonial Investigation Records, Mission San Gabriel, 1788–1861. Archived material, the McPherson Collection, Special Collections, Honnold/Mudd Library, Claremont Colleges, <http://voxlibris.claremont.edu/sc/collections/marrinvest/matinvest.htm>, accessed October 6, 2000.
- N.d.a San Gabriel Mission Baptisms. Archived material, Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, Santa Barbara, CA.
N.d.b San Gabriel Mission Marriages. Archived material, Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, Santa Barbara, CA.
N.d.c Santa Barbara Mission Indian Burials. Archived material, Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, Santa Barbara, CA.
N.d.d Santa Barbara Presidio Baptisms. Archived material, Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, Santa Barbara, CA.
N.d.e Santa Barbara Presidio Marriages. Archived material, Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, Santa Barbara, CA.
- Friedman, Jonathan
1999 Indigenous Struggles and the Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie. Journal of World-Systems Research 5(2):391–411.
- García-Moro, Clara, D. I. Toja, and Phillip L. Walker
1997 Marriage Patterns of California's Early Spanish-Mexican Colonists (1742–1876). Journal of Biosocial Science 29(2):205–217.
- Geiger, Maynard, O. F. M. (Order of Friars Minor)
1972 Six Census Records of Los Angeles and Its Immediate Area between 1804 and 1823. Southern California Quarterly 54(4):313–342.
- Gillingham, Robert Cameron
1983[1961] The Rancho San Pedro. Rev. edition. Los Angeles: Museum Reproductions.

- Gonzales, Angela
1998 The (Re)Articulation of American Indian Identity: Maintaining Boundaries and Regulating Access to Ethnically Tied Resources. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 22(4):199–225.
- Goycochea, Felipe de
1785 Census of the Population of Santa Barbara, October 31, 1785. Archived material, State Papers, Missions, vol. 1, pp. 4–9. Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
- Gutiérrez, Ramon A.
1991 When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Haas, Lisbeth
1995 Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769–1936. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Haley, Brian D.
1997 Newcomers in a Small Town: Change and Ethnicity in Rural California. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara.
2002 Going Deeper: Chumash Identity, Scholars, and Spaceports in Radic' and Elsewhere. *Acta Americana* 10(1):113–123.
2003 Liberal or Cultural: A Comment. *American Anthropologist* 105(2):476–477.
2004 Review of Places That Count: Traditional Cultural Properties in Cultural Resource Management. *Southeastern Archaeology* 23(2):226–228.
In press The Case of the Three Baltazars: Indigenization and the Vicissitudes of the Written Word. *Southern California Quarterly*.
- Haley, Brian D., and Larry R. Wilcoxon
1997 Anthropology and the Making of Chumash Tradition. *Current Anthropology* 38(5):761–794.
1999 Point Conception and the Chumash Land of the Dead: Revisions from Harrington's Notes. *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 21(2):213–235.
2000 On Complicities and Collaborations. *Current Anthropology* 41(2):272–273.
- Handler, Richard
1985 On Dialogue and Destructive Analysis: Problems in Narrating Nationalism and Ethnicity. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 41(2):171–182.
- Hoar, Edward S.
1852 California Census, 1852, Santa Barbara County. Archived material, Santa Barbara Presidio Archives, Santa Barbara, CA.
- Jackson, Robert H.
1999 Race, Caste and Status: Indians in Colonial Spanish America. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Johnson, John R.
2003 Will the "Real" Chumash Please Stand Up? The Context for a Radic'al Perception of Chumash Identity. *Acta Americana* 11(1):70–72.
- Kearney, Michael
2004 The Classifying and Value-Filtering Missions of Borders. *Anthropological Theory* 4(2):131–156.
- King, Thomas F.
2003 Places that Count: Traditional Cultural Properties in Cultural Resource Management. Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira Press.
- Kohl, Philip L.
1998 Nationalism and Archaeology: On the Constructions of Nations and the Reconstructions of the Remote Past. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 27:223–246.
- Layne, J. Gregg
1934 Annals of Los Angeles, Part I. *California Historical Society Quarterly* 13(3):195–234.
- Lo Buglio, Rudecinda
1977 Presidio de San Francisco, 31 December 1776. *Antepasados* 2(3):21–32.
1981 The 1839 Census of Los Angeles. *Antepasados* 4:40–44.
- Mason, William Marvin
1978 The Garrisons of San Diego Presidio: 1770–1794. *Journal of San Diego History* 24(4):409–411.
- 1998 The Census of 1790: A Demographic History of Colonial California. Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press.
- McLendon, Sally, and John R. Johnson, eds.
1999 Cultural Affiliation and Lineal Descent of Chumash Peoples in the Channel Islands and the Santa Monica Mountains. Report prepared for Archaeology and Ethnography Program, National Park Service. Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History and Hunter College, City University of New York.
- McWilliams, Carey
1990[1948] North from Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States. 2nd edition. New York: Praeger.
- Menchaca, Martha
2001 Recovering History, Constructing Race: The Indian, Black, and White Roots of Mexican Americans. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Miranda, Gloria E.
1978 Family Patterns and the Social Order in Hispanic Santa Barbara, 1784–1848. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, University of Southern California.
1981 Gente de Razón Marriage Patterns in Spanish and Mexican California: A Case Study of Santa Barbara and Los Angeles. *Southern California Quarterly* 63(1):1–21.
1988 Racial and Cultural Dimensions in Gente de Razon Status in Spanish and Mexican California. *Southern California Quarterly* 70(3):265–278.
- Moore, John H.
1994 Putting Anthropology Back Together Again: The Ethnogenetic Critique of Cladistic Theory. *American Anthropologist* 96(4):925–948.
2001 Ethnogenetic Patterns in Native North America. In *Archaeology, Language, and History: Essays on Culture and Ethnicity*. John E. Terrell, ed. Pp. 31–56. Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey.
- Nabokov, Peter
2002 A Forest of Time: American Indian Ways of History. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Northrop, Marie E.
1984 Spanish-Mexican Families of Early California: 1769–1850, vol. 2. Burbank: Southern California Genealogical Society.
1986[1976] Spanish-Mexican Families of Early California: 1769–1850, vol. 1. 2nd edition. Burbank: Southern California Genealogical Society.
- Nugent, Daniel
1998 Two, Three, Many Barbarisms? The Chihuahuan Frontier in Transition from Society to Politics. In *Contested Ground: Comparative Frontiers on the Northern and Southern Edges of the Spanish Empire*. Donna J. Guy and Thomas E. Sheridan, eds. Pp. 182–199. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Obituary Files
N.d. Books G and H. Archived material, Gledhill Library, Santa Barbara Historical Society Museum, Santa Barbara, CA.
- O'Connor, Mary I.
1989 Environmental Impact Review and the Construction of Contemporary Chumash Ethnicity. In *Negotiating Ethnicity: The Impact of Anthropological Theory and Practice*. Susan E. Keefe, ed. Pp. 9–17. NAPA Bulletin, 8. Washington, DC: American Anthropological Association.
- Ortega, José Francisco
1781 The Company which is to Garrison the Presidio and Missions of the Channel of Santa Barbara, October 30, 1781. Archived material, CA 15 Provincial State Papers, Benicia Military. Pp. 106–108. Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
1939[1782] Santa Barbara Presidio Company, July 1, 1782. In *History of Santa Barbara County*. Owen H. O'Neill, ed. Pp. 54–55. Santa Barbara: Union Printing.
- Pico, Georgia
N.d. Memories of Mrs. Georgia Pico. Archived material, Family Files. Gledhill Library, Santa Barbara Historical Society Museum, Santa Barbara, CA.
- Pitt, Leonard
1966 The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846–1890. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Powell, Philip Wayne
1952 *Soldiers, Indians and Silver: The Northward Advance of New Spain, 1550–1600*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Radding, Cynthia
1997 *Wandering Peoples: Colonialism, Ethnic Spaces, and Ecological Frontiers in Northwestern Mexico, 1700–1850*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Ruiz, James T.
N.d.a Don Vico. Archived material, Family Files, James T. Ruiz Recollections. Gledhill Library, Santa Barbara Historical Society Museum, Santa Barbara, CA.
N.d.b The Ku Klux Klan. Archived material, Family Files, James T. Ruiz Recollections. Gledhill Library, Santa Barbara Historical Society Museum, Santa Barbara, CA.
- Sahlins, Marshall
1999 What Is Anthropological Enlightenment? Some Lessons of the 20th Century. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 28:i–xxiii.
- Sánchez, Rosaura
1995 *Telling Identities: The Californio Testimonios*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Santa Barbara City Directory
1943 Electronic document, <http://www.vitalsearch-ca.com/gen/ca/sba/sbadlink.htm#CD>, accessed March 2, 2002.
- Schultz, Karen
1993 The Presidio and Surrounding Community, 1840–1880. In *Santa Barbara Presidio Area 1840 to the Present*. Carl V. Harris, Jarrel C. Jackman, and Catherine Rudolph, eds. Pp. 1–15. Santa Barbara: University of California, Santa Barbara Public Historical Studies and Santa Barbara Trust for Historic Preservation.
- Seed, Patricia
1982 Social Dimensions of Race: Mexico City, 1753. *Hispanic American Historical Review* 62(4):569–606.
- Terrell, John Edward, ed.
2001 *Archaeology, Language, and History: Essays on Culture and Ethnicity*. Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey.
- Thomas, David Hurst
1991 Harvesting Ramona's Garden: Life in California's Mythical Mission Past. In *Columbian Consequences*, vol. 3: The Spanish Borderlands in Pan-American Perspective. David Hurst Thomas, ed. Pp. 119–157. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Trompf, Garry
1990 The Cargo and the Millennium on Both Sides of the Pacific. In *Cargo Cults and Millenarian Movements: Transoceanic Comparisons of New Religious Movements*. Garry W. Trompf, ed. Pp. 35–94. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- U.S. Census Bureau
1850 Census of Santa Barbara County—Started 8 Oct. 1850. Archived material, Santa Barbara Presidio Archives, Santa Barbara, CA.
1860 Eighth Census of the United States, 1860—Population Schedules, Santa Barbara County, California. Electronic document, <http://www.rootsweb.com>, accessed October 24, 2000.
1870 Ninth Census of the United States, 1870—Population Schedules, Santa Barbara County, California. Electronic document, <http://www.ancestry.com>, accessed December 11, 2001.
1880 Tenth Census of the United States, 1880—Population Schedules, Santa Barbara and Ventura Counties, California. Electronic document, <http://www.ancestry.com>, accessed May 17, 2001.
1900 Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900—Population Schedules, Santa Barbara County, California. Electronic document, <http://www.ancestry.com>, accessed July 31, 2001.
1910 Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910—Population Schedules, Santa Barbara County, California. Electronic document, <http://www.ancestry.com>, accessed August 3, 2001.
1920 Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920—Population Schedules, Santa Barbara and Ventura counties, California. Electronic document, <http://www.ancestry.com>, accessed December 18, 2000.
1930 Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930—Population Schedules, Santa Barbara County, California. Electronic document, <http://www.ancestry.com>, accessed May 22, 2002.
- Warren, Kay B., and Jean E. Jackson
2002 Introduction: Studying Indigenous Activism in Latin America. In *Indigenous Movements, Self-Representation, and the State in Latin America*. Kay B. Warren and Jean E. Jackson, eds. Pp. 1–46. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Weber, David J.
1992 *The Spanish Frontier in North America*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Weiner, James F.
1999 Culture in a Sealed Envelope: The Concealment of Australian Aboriginal Heritage and Tradition in the Hindmarsh Island Bridge Affair. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 5(2):193–210.
- Wolf, Eric R.
1982 *Europe and the People without History*. Berkeley: University of California Press.